

Message Text

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CORRECTED COPY (PARA 1 THRU 4)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RO HU UR SHUM PINT
SUBJECT: RESURGENT HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM AND TRANSYLVANIA

REF: (A) ADREWS-SIMONS LETTER DATED MARCH 23 (B) BUDAPEST 1201
(C) BUCHAREST 1375 (D) BUCHAREST 1275

1. UCONN PROFESSOR RUDOLF TOKES' REPORT ON HIS FEBRUARY STAY IN HUNGARY (ENCLOSED REF A) PRESENTS FASCINATING PICTURE OF A COUNTRY RIDING WAVE OF RESURGENT NATIONALISM, WITH "THE SURFACING OF A SENSE OF 'NORMALCY'...VERY SIMILAR TO THE VALUES, BELIEFS AND LIFE-STYLES OF THE HUNGARIAN MIDDLE CLASS IN THE YEARS PRECEDING THE GREAT DEPRESSION," AND THIS DESPITE (OR PRESUMABLY ALSO BECAUSE OF) "THE PRESENT 'DEAD-END' STAGNATION OF WHAT IS LEFT OF THE NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM."

2. WHILE TOKES DEFINES THIS NATIONALISM AS "A NEW SENSE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE, BORDERING ON COCKINESS," HE ALSO IDENTIFIES IMPORTANT DISTINCTION IN FOREIGN POLICY SENTIMENTS OF PEOPLE
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HE MET, BETWEEN "CONDESCENSION AND MILD CONTEMPT TOWARD THE USSR" AND "UNDISGUISED HATRED TOWARD THE ROMANIAN REGIME."

3. IT SEEMS TO US THAT CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION PRACTICALLY GUARANTEES THAT THIS DISTINCTION WILL CHARACTERIZE HUNGARIAN POLICY MANAGEMENT OF NATIONALIST IMPULSE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS. WE PRESUME THAT USSR RECEIVES ITS SHARE OF HATRED,

AND ROMANIA A HEALTHY DOSE OF CONDESCENSION AND CONTEMPT, IN HUNGARIAN SENTIMENT, BUT AS A MATTER OF POLICY IT IS SIMPLY EASIER FOR HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT TO VENTILATE OR DIRECT RENEWED SELFCONFIDENCE OR COCKINESS TOWARD ROMANIA RATHER THAN TOWARD USSR.

4. IN TOKES' JUDGMENT, TRANSYLVANIA IS PART OF THIS PHENOMENON, BUT NOT THE CENTRAL ISSUE. FOR POLICSKPURPOSES, HOWEVER, IT SEEMS TO US LIKELY THAT TRANSYLVANIA WILL BE THE MAIN PUBLIC ISSUE FOR THE FUTURE. IT IS READY-MADE: THE MAGYARS OF ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIA ARE AFTER ALL NON-SOVIET EUROPE'S LARGEST NATIONAL MINORITY. IT IS SUPERLATIVELY TRADITIONAL: REVISIONISM OVER TRANSYLVANIA WAS AFTER ALL A KEY COMPONENT OF THE "VALUES, BELIEFS AND LIFE-STYLES" OF THE PRE-DEPRESSION HUNGARIAN MIDDLE CLASS WHICH ARE EVIDENTLY ENJOYING A COMEBACK. FORMER ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR TO HUNGARY POPESCU-PUTURI RECENTLY RECALLED BEING LED DOWN ROWS OF THOUSANDS OF GRAVES OF HUNGARIAN WAR DEAD, EVERY STONE MARKED "DIED FOR TRANSYLVANIA." AND IT DOES NOT GET HUNGARY IN DUTCH WITH THE USSR.

5. REF B COMMENTS THAT LASZLO HEGEDUS' NATIONAL DAY SPEECH THIS YEAR "SHOULD BE REGARDED AS THE CLOSEST THING YET TO AN OFFICIAL HUNGARIAN STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION OF THE ETHNIC HUNGARIANS IN ROMANIA." IT WILL PROBABLY BE THE FIRST OF MANY. EMBASSY BUDAPEST IS ALSO SURELY CORRECT IN POINTING OUT THAT THE TRANSYLVANIAN ISSUE WILL BE FRAMED IN TERMS OF MINORITY

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RIGHTS, RATHER THAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. RAISING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO EVERY EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THE USSR, WHILE PRESSURE FOR MINORITY RIGHTS IS POPULAR AND EVEN LEGITIMATE WITH MOST GOVERNMENTS, AND WITH INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION.

6. THIS DISTINCTION WAS ENTIRELY ARTIFICIAL DURING THE HEYDAY OF HUNGARIAN REVISIONISM BETWEEN THE WARFHN VAND ROMANIUCS ARE LIKELY TO FIND IT SOMEWHAT ARTIFICIAL NOW. MAGYAR NATIONALISM IS OF COURSE ONE OF THE WOUNDERS OF THE EUROPEAN WORLD, PERMITTING A SMALL PEOPLE TO SURVIVE IN WHAT IT REGARDS (AND WHAT HAS OFTEN ENOUGH BEEN) A SEA OF ENEMIES. THE NATIONALISM OF HUNGARY'S ROMANIAN NEIGHBORS IS A MORE RECENT VINTAGE, AND THEY TEND TO ADD MAGYARS TO THE LIST OF ENEMIES THEY HAVE THEMSELVES DURVIVED, BUT THEY FULLY APPRECIATE THE FORCE OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT NEXT DOOR. THUS, THEY WILL ALSO SHARE THE SENTIMENTS OF THE HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS TOKES TALKED WITH, WHO ARE "EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE NATIONALISTIC MOOD" SINCE THEY FEAR CONSERVATIVES MAY "(EMBRACE) A NATIONALISTIC PROGRAM WITH RESPECT TO TRANSYLVANIA (OR SLOVAKIA)" AND DRIVE THE COUNTRY EVEN CLOSER TO THE USSR IF THE KADAR SUCCESSION IS PROTRACTED.

7. FOR THE TIME BEING, SOVIETS IN BUCHAREST ARE TAKING EXACTLY THE LINE WHICH MIGHT BE EXPECTED: IN CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE MARCH 31, SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELOR POZDYNakov REPORTED (SEE ALSO REF D) THAT MAGYAR MINORITY PROBLEM IN TRANSYLVANIA IS ISSUE BETWEEN GOR AND MINORITY RATHER THAN BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ROMANIA. AND, MEANWHILE, WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS (FURTHER TO REF C) OF UNREST IN MAGYAR AREAS: WEST GERMAN AND FRENCH REPS SAID IN APRIL 4 NATO DCMS' MEETING THEY HAD HEARD FROM ROMANIAN SOURCES THAT MAGYARS SET FIRE TO TIRGU MURES PRISON AND THAT MAGYAR POET ANDRASSY HAD BEEN ARRESTED IN RECENT WEEKS.

8. FOR THE TIME BEING, THEREFORE, WE CAN EXPECT FURTHER
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UNREST, FURTHER GOR BARGAINING WITH MINORITIES ALONG LINES PROJECTED BY CEAUSESCU IN MARCH 14 SPEECH TO HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN MINORITY COUNCILS, AND FURTHER DISCLAIMERS OF INTEREYP FROM SOVIETS AND HUNGARIANS, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO TERRITORIAL ISSUE. DEFQITE DISCLAIMER, HOWEVER, POZDNYAKOV NOTED LOCAL HUNGARIANS TELL HIM THEY THINK CEAUSESCU'S MARCH 14 SPEECH WAS DESIGNED PRIMARILY TO IMPRESS U.S. PUBLIC OPINION IN PRE-VISIT PERIOD. HUNGARIANS (AND SOVIETS) ARE CERTAINLY AWARE OF INTERNAITONAL RAMIFICATIONS OF ISSUE.

9. GOR, FOR ITS PART, WILL INSIST ON SEEING ISSUE AS PRIMARILY INTERNATIONAL, IN THE SENSE THAT IT WOULD NOT BECOME ISSUE WITHOUT SOVIET BLESSING. WHILE ROMANIANS WOULD PERHAPS OTHERWISE WELCOME RESURGENCE OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM AS HARBINGER

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OF GREATER HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE OF USSR, THE ALMOST CERTAIN PROSPECT THAT IT WILL BE DIRECTED IN FIRST INSTANCE AGAINST THEM RATHER THAN USSR, AND MAY DRIVE HUNGARY EVEN CLOSER TO USSR AS TOKES' INTELLECTUAL INTERLOCUTORS FEAR, MAKE IT DANGEROUS RATHER THAN CONSTRUCTIVE PHENOMENON.

10. PARALLEL WITH BULGARIA IS INSTRUCTIVE, BUT ALSO INCOMPLETE. IN HIS 1977 ADELPHI PAPER ON BALKAN SECURITY, F. STEPHEN LARRABEE NOTES "THERE IS SOME INDICATION THAT THE RECENT ROUND OF POLEMICS (WITH YUGOSLAVIA) ON MACEDONIA MAY BE RELATED TO BULGARIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS--IN PARTICULAR, TO THE EMPHASIS ON NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM WHICH HAS BECOME A PROMINENT FEATURE OF BULGARIAN INTERNAL POLICY SINCE 1967. PART OF THIS EMPHASIS ON NATIONALISM HAS INVOLVED THE IMPORTANT ROLE MACEDONIA HAS PLAYED IN BULGARIAN HISTORY; THUS, IN A SENSE THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION, AS J.F. BROWN HAS SUGGESTED, HAS BECOME 'A KIND OF SURROGHE, OR VICARIOUS, NATIONALISM' WHICH IS LESS AMENABLE TO SOVIET MANIPULATION THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THE PAST." AS A SURROGATE (IF LATE BLOOMING) NATIONALISM, TRANSYLVANIA WILL PROBABLY DO AS WELL AS MACEDONIA: AT LEAST YUGOSLAVS SEEM AS CONVINCED AS ROMANIANS THAT "HAND
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OF MOSCOW" IS BEHIND MINORITY AGITATION EMANATING FROM NEIGHBORS, AND IS DESIGNED TO KEEP THEM FAITHFUL BY DIVERTING NATIONALIST IMPULSE AT UNFAITHFUL YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS RATHER THAN BIG ZBOTHER. DIFFERENCE, AS WE SEE IT, IS THAT TRANSYLVANIAN SURROGATE IS LIKELY OVER TIME TO DRIVE HUNGARY FURTHER INTO SOVIET ARMS.

11. WOULD WELCOME ADDRESSEE COMMENTS.
SIMON Y

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